1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*ui aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *ui aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *matoaipo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*tuua* unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kaka*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

the village. They have been abandoned for many years, and houses now stand on many of them. The high chief's burial marae has been preserved as a modern cemetery (pl. 1).

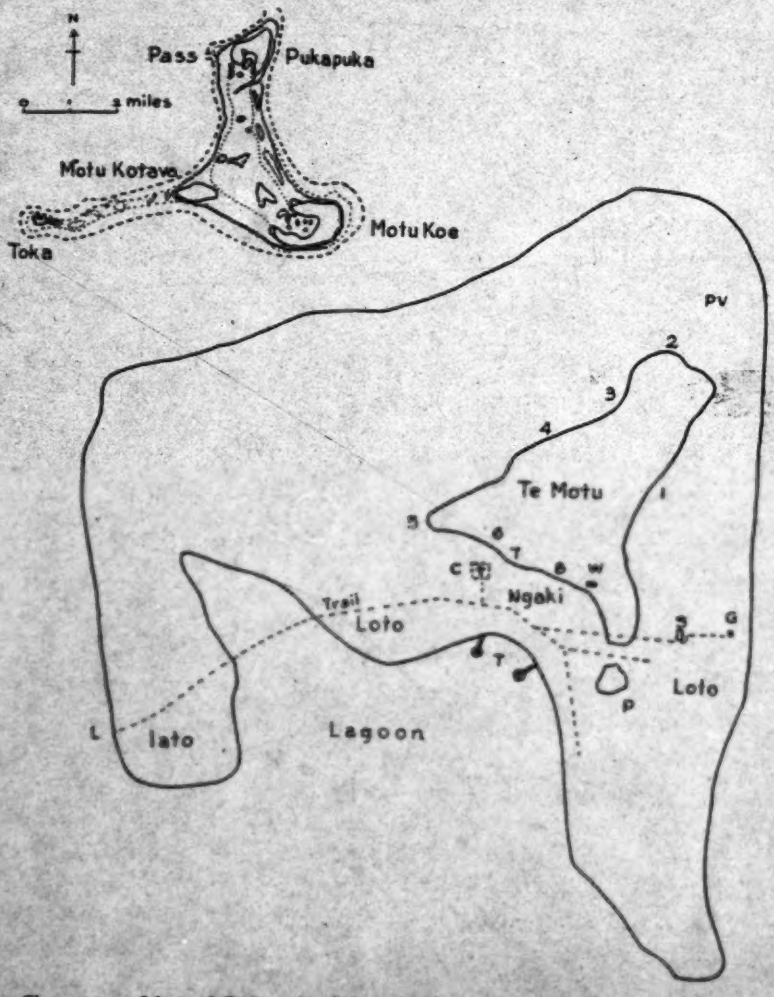

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka Islet showing village sections and land holdings: Te Motu, communal taro lands of Loto section; *G*, resident agent's house; *L*, landing place; *P*, puraka patch; *S*, school and meeting house; *T*, toilets over lagoon; *W*, watchhouse in taro patches; *C*, church; *Pv*, Loto plantation villages. Small plantations and land divisions: 1, Te Utu; 2, Walakakala; 3, Te Wela (Vela); 4, Te Punpua; 5, Te Auna; 6, Te Velo o te Kilikili; 7, Taikaina; 8, Te Pa.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

All canoes are kept uncovered on the southern, or lagoon shore, of the islet. In the village are several small storage houses containing old, disassembled canoes. Within the last few years toilets have been built on piles of coral blocks several yards from the lagoon beach.

Taro Cultivation

The early inhabitants of Pukapuka solved the problem of cultivating taro on an atoll by digging large pits. They created rich soil by depositing dead coconut fronds and other fallen leaf material from the bush and allowing it to rot in the pits. Water seeped in, and a thick mud, in which taro grew excellently, was formed. During the centuries these pits have been enlarged into great excavations which will produce enough taro for the entire population (pl. 2, *B*). As the soil must continually be replenished, each row of taro has a line of coconut fronds and leaf material laid along it. The most extensive of these pits have been made on Pukapuka Islet. Excavation still continues to a limited degree.

Plantations

Each section of the village owns a part of the atoll on which it grows its taro and coconuts. Iato section owns the southwestern islet, Motu Katava (Lau-la-lalo); Ngaki owns the southeastern islet, Motu Koe (Lau-la-lunga); and Loto owns Te Motu, a part of Pukapuka Islet. *Motu* means both "islet" and "division of land". These three *motu* are communal property of the section to which they belong and are reserved for the production of food.

The division of the small food supply must be carefully supervised and restricted. Formerly the food collected was divided among all adults and children, the children receiving smaller shares. In the taro patches on Pukapuka Islet, each individual of Loto now has a plot 9 feet square which he cultivates and uses for his own subsistence (pl. 2, *A*). There are both communal patches and small ones belonging to individuals or families. In modern times the coconuts from the communal lands are still divided for the making of copra. The village council allots to each man the number of coconuts he is to cut and dry. The entire crop is collected and sold to the trading schooner, and each man receives a proportionate part of the money.